1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R Y4 Koryak R Y 4

584 leave their house. In such cases the Reindeer people catch the reindeer on which the undesirable suitor had come, harness the sledge, carry his belongings out, and place him on the sledge, saying simply, "Depart!" In such cases it happens that the young man goes off a short distance, and, coming back, stops at the tent, and patiently and silently sits on his hitched-up sledge without unharnessing his reindeer, which he starves until he is called back into the tent. By such stubbornness persistent suitors have often obtained the consent of the bride's parents.

583 The term of the bridegroom's service varies from six months to three years. In Kamenskoye, for instance, the bridegroom is kept for a long time before the bride is given to him. This depends on the pleasure of the bride's father or elder brother. Often the mother says to the father, or in his absence to the elder son, that the young man has been tortured long enough.

What is the character of the Koryak custom of serving for a bride? By ethnologists a bridegroom's service is generally considered as payment for the bride; i. e., as a reward to the bride's father for his loss of a working-woman. In the present case this explanation seems inapplicable. Among the Reindeer Koryak, the wealthy reindeer-breeders would prefer to pay with reindeer, were service a payment for the bride; but this does not occur. Besides, the son-in-law, along with his wife, receives her reindeer, the value of which is not in any way equalled by the value of the bridegroom's services. As we shall see later on, in those cases in which the son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house, he must still pass through a certain preliminary term of service as a bridegroom. This service can in no wise be considered payment for the bride, as her father not only does not lose a worker when she marries, but even acquires an additional one in his son-in-law. Finally, if the suit is pressed by an elderly or wealthy man, the service is reduced to a minimum, and is performed in a formal manner only. In my opinion, the service for a bride among the Koryak is of the nature of a test of the bridegroom. A serving bridegroom is not an ordinary workman. The principal thought is not his usefulness, but the hard and humiliating trials to which he is subjected. The bridegroom is given a poor bed, he is ill-fed, he is not allowed to sleep late, he is sent on exhausting errands. As a herdsman he must pass his nights without sleep, while the proprietor of the herd and the bride's brothers are resting. In a word, during his term of service, his endurance, patience, and meekness, his adroitness as a hunter, and his zeal and frugality as a herdsman, are tested. The bride's father gives his assent to the marriage only after the bridegroom has stood the probation well.

This view of the trial of a bridegroom, who must perform tests dangerous to his life, and win contests, is also found in Koryak tales.[1]

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[1] See Part I, pp. 163, 198, 250.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

only remark that I consider the thrashing of the groom as the final act in testing his adroitness, bravery, and endurance, and not as a symbolic remnant of marriage by capture.

Of course, along with the other methods of obtaining wives, the Koryak, in former times, resorted to carrying away women, or taking away by force both girls and married women, I have spoken of the "wife-snatcher-strong-men."[1] In Koryak mythology we find some tales of girls being carried away by force. In one tale[2] Big-Raven, the ancestor of the Koryak, carries off a girl from the kamak for his son Eme'mqut; and in another[3] Eme'mqut himself steals the daughter of the kamak. But if we take into consideration that among the Koryak marriage is rather endogamic than exogamic, and that in war the conquerors usually slew the children of the vanquished lest they should grow up to become avengers, and their women lest they should bear avengers,[4] it seems plausible that the custom of capturing wives from foreign tribes or clans never prevailed among the Koryak to any extent.

Marriage is accompanied by neither feast nor shamanistic ceremonies. The daughter and the son-in-law either leave at once for the young man's house, or they remain for some time in her father's house. In some localities, after a successful "bride-seizing," the bridegroom goes home and sends his parents, or other elder relatives, to fetch the bride. When the bride approaches the house of her bridegroom's parents, the latter come out with firebrands taken from the hearth to meet her. This reception symbolizes the acceptance of the bride into the family cult which the hearth represents. Beyond her clothes and appurtenances for woman's work, the bride brings almost nothing into her father-in-law's house. The bed and sleeping-tent for the couple are prepared by the bridegroom's family. However, the bride brings along presents of clothing, meat, and other things, for the bridegroom's mother and sisters, and her own reindeer if she be a Reindeer Koryak. If the bride is the first daughter-in-law in the house, the mother-in-law usually hands the whole household over to her care, and interferes only if the daughter-in-law proves to be an inexperienced housewife. On entering the house, the bride immedately sets out to prepare the meal. The Maritime Koryak do not invite any guests, and the meal has purely a family character. Among the Reindeer Koryak, at the meeting of the bride, one or several reindeer are sacrificed to The-Master-on-High and his son, Cloud-Man, protector of married couples.[5] From one myth[6] it appears that non-performance of this duty brings punishment from the deity. In former times the bridegroom's mother or elder brother used to anoint the bride's forehead and abdomen with the blood of the sacrificial reindeer. This, too, evidently meant the adoption of the bride into the new family, and her introduction to the new hearth, by means of sacrificial

[1] See pp. 561 and 754; and Part I, pp. 140, 145, 227. [2] See Part I, p. 210. [3] Ibid., p. 324.
[4] See Chapter XIII. [5] See Part I, pp. 26, 93. [6] Ibid., p. 300.

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

amidſt all their misfortunes, with the pleaſure of having once in their life made a delicious meal.

Amongſt all theſe barbarous nations, excepting the *Kamtſchadales*, theft is reputable, provided they do not ſteal in their own tribe, or if done with ſuch art as to prevent diſcovery; on the other hand, it is puniſhed very ſeverely if diſcovered, not for the theft, but for want of addreſs in the art of ſtealing. A *Tchukotſkoi* girl cannot be married before ſhe has ſhewn her dexterity in this way.

Murder is not looked upon as a great crime unleſs it be in their own tribe, and then the relations of the murdered generally revenge it, but no one elſe takes any notice of it.

In their marriages the rich match with the rich, and the poor with the poor, with little regard either to beauty or any other accompliſhment. They marry for the moſt part into their own family, ſuch as with a firſt couſin, an aunt, or mother-in-law; and, in ſhort, with any relation except their own mother or daughter. The ceremonies of courtſhip are the ſame as among the *Kamtſchadales*. Although the bridegroom ſhould be very rich, yet he is obliged to ſerve three or five years for his bride; during which time they allow them to ſleep together, though the form of catching the bride ſhould not be performed, which they leave 'till the marriage be celebrated, and that is done without any great ceremony. They have ſometimes two, and ſometimes three wives, whom they keep at different places, giving them a herd of deer and a keeper. Their greateſt pleaſure is to go from place to place and examine their cattle; and it is ſurpriſing that the *Koreki*, notwithſtanding their herds are ſo numerous, and they are quite ignorant of arithmetick, can immediately diſcover the leaſt loſs, and even deſcribe all the marks of the deer that is miſſing.

They have a great fondneſs for their children, and breed them up from their infancy to labour and oeconomy. Thoſe that